

A
DISSERTATION
ON
BARLEY WINE.

*by Samuel Rolleston, M.A.
Andover.*

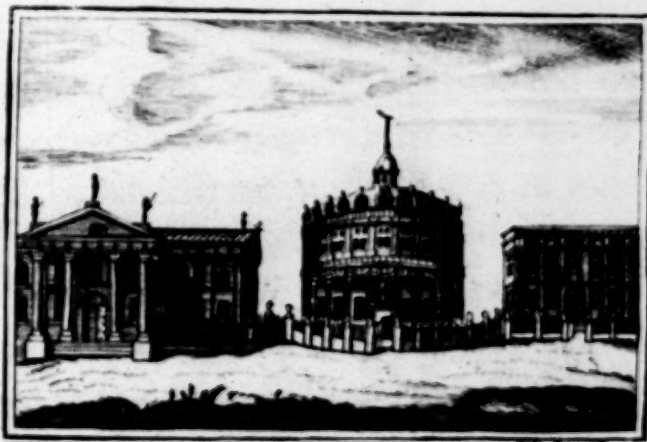


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ΟΙΝΟΣ ΚΡΙΘΙΝΟΣ.
A
DISSERTATION
CONCERNING THE
ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY
OF
BARLEY WINE.

Οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπῳ λαβεῖν μᾶζον, ἢ χαλμάδα θιᾶ σιμνέτηρον ΑΛΗ-
ΘΕΙΑΣ. Plut. If. & Ofir.

*Num fingo? num mentior? cupio refelli. Quid enim laboro nisi ut VERI-
TAS in omni quaestione explicetur. Cic. Tusc. Disputat. L. 3. c. 20.*



OXFORD,

Printed at the THEATRE for JAMES FLETCHER in the
Turl: and Sold by J. and J. RIVINGTON in *St. Paul's*
Church-Yard, *Lond.* MDCCL.

ORIGINALS



DISSEMINATION

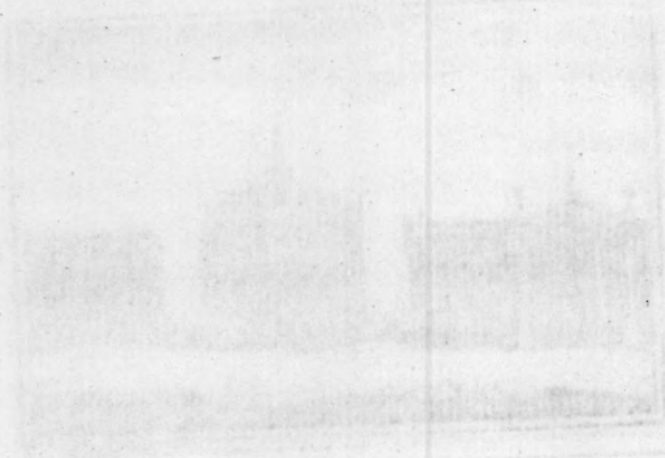
CONCERNING THE

ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY

OF

BARTLEY WINE

and the various other articles of antiquity and art
which are now in the possession of the British Museum
and which are now being sold by the Trustees of the
British Museum at the Museum of Natural History
at the British Museum, London.



OXFORD

Printed at the THEATRE by James FLETCHER in the
Year and sold by J. and J. RIVINGTON in St. Paul's
Church-Yard, LONDON.

To the Readers.

IT is a very common thing for an Author to endeavour by way of Preface to prejudice his readers in his favour. This is sometimes done by setting forth the difficulty of the subject treated of, his own impartiality in judging of it, or the pains he has been at in clearing it up. This is a method I shall not for my own part follow because it favours too much of vanity and self-conceit. You shall judge yourselves, what trouble I have been at in consulting ancient and modern authors. And as to the manner in which I have handled my subject, you may determine concerning that just as you please. — Other Authors in a long preface show the usefulness of their subject, and how beneficial it would be for mankind to understand it: which is a gentle hint that no one should be without their book. But neither is this the kind of preface I approve of. This sounds much better from the bookseller than the Author, unless the Author is interested in the sale of his book, or unless he thinks the reader will not be able to find out the usefulness of the book by himself. But neither of these cases, I assure you, is mine. In the first place I don't get one farthing by writing,

and in the next place I am sure every reader of understanding (and I desire no others) will see, as plainly as I do myself, how useful the treatise is and what service it is likely to do in the world, if it be but generally read —

In short then (my dear readers) I will let my essay speak for itself, and if any of you think it a bad performance, pray write better upon the same subject yourselves, and be assur'd that I shall not at all envy you the reputation and honour you will gain by it; but shall readily acknowledge your superior genius and learning, and will own too that you have read a great deal and that to a very good purpose. And so I will add nothing further than that



I am

Your humble servant.

A
D I S S E R T A T I O N
O N
B A R L E Y W I N E.

IT is very remarkable that of all the creatures in the Universe, whose nature and actions we are at all acquainted with, *Man* is the only one which is *Hypochondriacal*, that is, which is subject to lowness of Spirits, and wants as it were *Physick* in a state of *Health*. There are none of us who can live comfortably upon what we call the *necessaries* of life only, but all stand frequently in need of other recruits. Other creatures, we see, can labour and toil about building their houses for habitation or garners for provision, and still continue their chearfulness without any thing but what is just necessary to support their beings, and to keep them alive. But this is plainly not the case with Men. Work or not work, their spirits will now and then be flagging; they cannot hold out without some spirituous refreshment, some liquor to chear them, that is stronger than simple water. This put men very early upon contriving some other liquors and endeavouring to make such as by their strength should raise a gaiety and briskness of spirit. How soon any kind of strong liquor was found out no one can exactly tell, but it is highly probable that *wine* was known very soon after the fall of Adam. Certainly the first man, while he maintain'd the rectitude of his nature, could have no bodily disorder, no such imperfection as want of spirits, no hypochondriacal complaint; and therefore it is not at all likely that he should think then of contriving any better liquor than he found, or that he was not content with the water of *Paradise*. But as lowness of spirits (the effect

effect of sin) soon appear'd amongst his descendants, we cannot suppose it was long before they invented a liquor which could raise them; and such refreshment was also wanted after the hard labour they were oblig'd to use in cultivating and tilling the ground, which was *curst* for Adam's sake, so that *in the sweat of their face they were forc'd to eat their bread*¹. We do not indeed read of any such liquor till after the flood, which according to the Hebrew Chronology happen'd in the year of the world 1656. But soon after that was gone off from the earth (as we are inform'd by Moses) *Noah planted a vineyard and he drank of the wine and was drunken.* Gen. 9. 21.

For my own part I cannot think that Noah was the inventor of *Wine*, but imagine that he was taught to make it by some of the Antediluvians, who *were eating and drinking*, enjoying themselves and their friends with mirth and jollity, when the flood came and swept them all away. He had in all probability before the flood found the agreeable and chearful effects of that liquor; he well knew how useful it was, and therefore as soon as possible he set about getting vines in order, that he might make some; for this is the first thing mention'd as done by him after the flood except the *building an altar, and offering burnt offerings* upon it. I know I differ in this point from most learned men, and especially the great Salmasius who asserts that Noah was the first planter of vines (*primus vitifactor*) and that the use of wine was not known before his time, and he thinks this is very clear from the words of the sacred text². *And Noah began to be a bus-*

¹ Bacchus & agricolæ magno confecta labore

Pectora tristitiae dissoluenda dedit. Tibull. el. 8. v. 39.

² Noacus *agricola* appellatur Genes. 9. — qui & primus vitifactor fuit ut ibidem dicitur. Ergo & vineae colendae ratio, viniq. usus ante Noacum ignorabatur. De usuris p. 304.



bandman and be planted a vineyard. But the meaning here only is, that Noah at that time set about the work of a husbandman, and the planting a vineyard; not that he was the first who did so. From the expression here us'd it might as justly be argu'd that he was the *first husbandman* as that he was the *first vinedresser*¹. But this no one will say who has read in Gen. 4. 2. *that Cain was a tiller of the ground*, i. e. a husbandman — and has observ'd what Lamech said when Noah was born. *This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed*: Gen. 5. 29. from whence it appears that Lamech also was a *husbandman*.

The same need of refreshment and recruit which caus'd the invention of *wine* in that part of the world, where man was first plac'd after he was expell'd out of Eden, did very soon after in other countries produce other liquors, which might have the same effect. Some soils and climates are unfit for vines, and cannot possibly bring grapes to perfection; and in the first ages they could not conveniently carry or convey great burdens from one country to another at a wide distance, so that in many places men could not be supply'd with wine at any rate. In such countries what must have become of the poor hypochondriacal inhabitants if they had been oblig'd to drink water only, and had not contriv'd some stronger kind of liquor? They must undoubtedly (for such is the nature of man) have been very miserable. To remedy this evil, from numberless things did they attempt to extract liquors, and they succeeded very well, finding that there were but few fruits or grains, of which they could not make something that would cheer their Spirits. Pliny reckons up a

¹ Notus est hebraismus duo praeterita aut futura adhibere quorum posterius est infinitivi loco. Cleric. in loc.

great many. In one place he tells us, there were 195 different kinds of drink which men had invented ¹. St. Jerom makes mention of *Ale*, *Cyder*, *Mead* and *Palm-wine* as strong liquors, able to make men drunk ². Amongst all this variety there was none made use of in more countries, than what was extracted from Barley, which Xenophon ³ and Aristotle (as he is quoted by Athenaeus ⁴) call *Barley Wine* οἶνος κριθῶνος. This is undoubtedly a liquor of very great Antiquity, but I cannot think it was invented before wine, and my reason is because the country, in which the first men lived, was a proper country for vines, and in such countries we can have no pretensions for doubting, that wine was the first strong liquor. An old Scholiast upon Æschylus, whose judgment we have no great reason to regard, is of a different opinion, and tells us that the Ægyptians had invented *ale* before *wine* was known ⁵.

I shall not at present examine when this liquor was invented, nor who was the inventor of it, but first of all take into consideration the different names it went by in different parts of the world. It was (as I shall prove by and by) first invented in Æ-

¹ Duo liquores corporibus humanis gratissimi, intus vini, foris olei, arborum è genere ambo præcipui, sed olei necessarius. Nec segniter vita in eo elaboravit. Quanto tamen in potu ingeniosior apparebit, ad bibendum generibus centum nonaginta quinque (si species vero aestimentur pene duplici numero) excogitatis, tantoque paucioribus olei. Nat. Hist. L. 14. c. 22.

² *Sicera* Hebraeo sermone omnis potio nuncupatur quæ inebriare potest, sive illa quæ frumento conficitur, sive pomorum succo, aut cum favi decoquantur in dulcem & barbaram potionem, aut palmarum fructus exprimuntur in liquorem, coctisque frugibus aqua pinguior coloratur. Epist. ad Nepotian. de vita Clericorum.

³ Expedit. Cyri, L. 4. p. 314. Edit. Hutchins.

⁴ Deipnos. L. 1. versùs fin.

⁵ Εξ κριθῶν μέθυ] Περὶ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ οἴνου τῆς ἐκ κριθῶν Αἰγυπτίων. Supplic.

gypt, but what the original Ægyptian name for it was, I cannot positively assert. It is not (I think) at all improbable that the name it goes by in Ægypt at present is the original and most ancient name of it. At this very day the Ægyptians make ale by pouring hot water on ground barley, the next day it ferments, and the day after they drink it¹. This liquor they call in their own language *Bouzy*, from whence undoubtedly is deriv'd our English word to *Bowse*, which is properly us'd of drinking *ale* heartily; for we never say of a man who is us'd to drink *wine* in large quantities that he is a *bowfing fellow*, but only of an *ale* or *beer drinker*. My reason for thinking that this is the old Ægyptian word for it, is, because we generally find that the moderns retain the same names of liquors, which were us'd in the most ancient times in their own countries, or make very little alteration in them. The word *Bouzy* is deriv'd from *Busiris*, the name of a City in *Delta*, so call'd from it's having the tomb of *Osiris* in it, which was erected by *Isis*: for *Busiris* in the Ægyptian language signifies the *tomb of Osiris*².

The oldest name which we meet with of this liquor, is what Moses makes use of more than once in the Pentateuch, Levit.

¹ This account of Bouzy I had some years ago from the learned and reverend Dr Shaw, which I have since seen confirm'd by Dr Pocock in his *Description of the East*. "The most vulgar people make a sort of beer of barley without being malted, and they put something in it to make it intoxicate and call it *Bouzy*. They make it ferment, 'tis thick and sour, and will not keep longer than 3 or 4 days." v.1. p.182. In the Kingdom of Senna they have a liquor call'd by the same name. See *the travels of the Missionaries*.

² See Bayle in v. *Busiris*. and Abbé Banier's Dissertation on Typhon in *Histoire de l'Acad. des inscript.* tom.6. p.172. Diod. Sic. informs us that according to some historians, Isis having collected the members of her husband Osiris whom Typhon had slain and cut to pieces, put them together into a wooden cow; and from thence the city was call'd *Busiris*. p.76. and in 79. he says, that *Busiris* in the language of Ægypt signifies *Οσιουδης τάφος*. ed. Rhod.

10. 9. Num. 6. 3. שכר *Scbekar*. The Septuagint add a Greek termination to it and call it Σίκερα. The Evangelist Luke also uses the word σίκερα in the same sense, c. 1. v. 15. οἶνον καὶ σίκερα & μὴ οἶνον. Our translators call it *Strong Drink*. The Hebrew word שכר may indeed signify any other strong liquor, as well as *beer* or *ale*, for it is deriv'd from שכר *inebriavit*, and implies any kind of inebriating liquor whatsoever, as we learn from St. Jerom¹. But seeing it is mention'd not only by Moses but the prophets, as a liquor distinct from *wine*, and likewise of the inebriating sort, and as it is most certain that *beer* or *ale* was in use among the Jews, and that it was common for them to get drunk with it, it is very probable that this is the liquor to be understood by the word שכר *Scbekar*. This will still be more strongly confirm'd from what we have to say concerning the word ζύθος, which is the first Greek name strictly speaking we meet with for this liquor². The Septuagint use this word Isai. 19. v. 10. where probably their Hebrew Copy had שכר *Scbekar*, tho' most others, even in their time, I imagine read סכר *Seker*, *clausura*, *excipulus* — or according to St. Jerom *lacuna*: in our translation it is *fluices*. *all that make fluices and ponds for fish* — It is plain however that the Seventy by ζύθος here mean what in other places they term σίκερα.

¹ See the passage quoted from St. Jerom, p. 8. and also on Isai. c. 28. Saepe diximus esse vinum quod de vineis fit, *ficeram* autem omnem potionem, quae inebriare potest, sive illa frumento, sive hordeo, sive milio, pomorumque succo & palmarum fructu, aut quolibet alio genere conficiatur. Hesych. also tells us that σίκερα is any inebriating liquor besides wine. Σίκερα οἶνος συμμεγής ἀδύναμος ἢ πῦρ πόμα ἱκανοῦν μέλει, μὴ ἐξ ἀμπέλων ὃ σικιδωτόν, σικητόν.

² St. Jerom upon this place says. Notandum quod pro *lacunis* LXX ζύθος translulerunt quod genus est potionis ex frugibus aquaque confectum, & vulgo in Dalmatiz, Pannoniaeqque provinciis gentili barbaroque sermone appellatur *Sabaium*.

When

When this word *ζύθος* came first in use it is very difficult, nay perhaps impossible to determine. Neither Herodotus nor Xenophon (if I remember right) has it. Many learned men think it was first us'd in Ægypt, but this opinion I cannot come into, because it is plainly a Greek word, and the first name of a liquor invented there must have been Ægyptian. I am indeed surpriz'd that Herodotus gives us no name for it, because in the same sentence where he tells us they made wine of barley, he acquaints us that they made bread of corn, and call'd their loaves *κυλλήσις* ¹. The Seventy are the first (as I imagine) who use the word *ζύθος*: after them we find it in Diod. Sic. ² Strabo ³, Columella ⁴, Pliny ⁵, Galen ⁶ and others. The Etymologies of words are (I own) very often uncertain, but I can't help producing with some confidence my own conjecture concerning this. I think it not improbable that it was the name which the Greeks form'd of that liquor when they first made war in Ægypt, or probably before that, for Herodotus ⁷ thinks that the Greeks long before his time made voyages into that country. Accordingly, I imagine, it is to be deriv'd from *ζῆθι*, the imperative mood from *ζῆμι vivō*: thus *πίθος cadus* comes from *πίθι bibe*. This conjecture will seem very probable, if we consider, that the Greeks were so fond of drinking, that what was in other places call'd *living together*, they call'd *drinking together*: what was in Italy

¹ Λεπτοφάγιστοι δὲ οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πρῶτοντες ἔχουσιν τὰς οὐκ αἰσθητοὺς κυλλήσις ὅτι οὐκ αἰσθητοὺς πρῶτοντες ἀλλ' αἰσθητοὺς. L. 2. c. 77.

² Ο καλὸν ζῆθι. L. 1. p. 21. & L. 4. p. 147. edit. Steph. Græc.

³ Χρῆνται ὃ ἐν ζῆθι. L. 3. p. 155. edit. Casaub.

⁴ — pocula zythi. L. 10. v. 116. edit. Junt.

⁵ Potus zythum in Ægypto. Nat. hist. 22. c. 25.

⁶ Περὶ τῶν ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων. βιβλ. v. 2. p. 84. edit. Basil. 1538. Ζύθος δρασμότερος ἐστὶ &c. & Hesych. Ζύθος οἶνος ἀπὸ κριθῆς ποίμας. Ζύθος ἀλφίτου πόντος.

⁷ L. 2. c. 43.

Convivium, was in Greece *συμπόσιον* ¹. Every entertainment among them was a *drinking* bout, this they took to be *living*, and indeed in England we say a man *lives* well, who has a great deal of victuals and drink, especially of the latter consum'd, in his house. The Greeks liv'd so merrily that their manner of life became even proverbial ². We must not therefore think it a wonder, if the drunken Greeks when they found a new liquor, which they greatly lik'd and approv'd of, gave it a name, which denoted that they took it for the *liquor of Life* — The alteration of the vowel *η* into *υ* is no argument against my opinion, because this change is common in other words: *ζύμα* is derived from *ζέω* *ferveo*: nay *ζέω*, *χέω*, *ξέω* have been often written *ζύω*, *χύω*, *ξύω*: thus undoubtedly from *καταπέλτης* comes *catapulta*, from *πίλλος*, *pullus*, from *Σίκυλος*, *Siculus* ³. And the modern Greeks pronounce an *υ* as an *ε* or *η*. *ζύθος* they pronounce *ζεθος* or *ζηθος*. This every one knows who has convers'd at all with any of the Greek priests. — Others derive *ζύθος* from *ζέω* *fervo*, *quasi* *ζέσθεις*

¹ We have something like this observation in Cicero: Bene enim majores nostri accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae conjunctionem haberet, *convivium* nominarunt, melius, quam Graeci, qui hoc idem tum *compotationem*, tum *concoenationem* vocant; ut, quod in eo genere minimum est, id maximè probare videantur. De Senect. c. 13.

² *Pergraecari* is *genialem agere vitam*. So in Plautus

Dies noctesque bibite, pergraecamini,

Amicas emite &c. Mostell. A. 1. Sc. 1. v. 20. and so

Ut cum solo pergraecetur milite. Trucul. A. 1. Sc. 1. v. 69.

We say likewise in English *as merry as a Greek*, which the common people not understanding have chang'd into a *Grig*, call'd in some places a *Suig*, which is a small fish like an eel -- and don't show, as I can perceive, more mirth or activity than any other fish -- or than a snake or viper which it resembles in shape.

³ Salmassius takes notice of this change of vowels, and has these same examples in his notes on the Histor. August. Script. Poll. vit. Div. Claud. vol. 2. p. 383. edit. Hack. 1671.

πότης.

πότης. So much may suffice for the word ζύθος, or as some write it ζύθον: only I will just add that in Theophrastus we meet with ζῆθος itself¹.

According to some, *Sabaium* or *Sabaia* is another name for *barley wine* among the Dalmatians and Pannonians. That the people of these countries were us'd to make a strong drink of barley we learn from several Authors. Dio Cassius tells us that the Pannonians eat and drank barley and millet². St. Jerom says that it was call'd in the barbarous language of those nations *Sabaium*³, and Ammianus Marcellinus who liv'd much about the same time with St. Jerom calls it *Sabaia*⁴: and Adrian Junius observes that the Illyrians gave it this name⁵. This word *Sabaium* is certainly of Hebrew extraction, and is deriv'd from the verb סבא *saba*, which signifies *potavit*, or *vino se obruit*. and סבא *soba* is us'd for a *drunkard*, Deut. 20. 21. which the LXX translate οἶνοφλυγῆ. From hence also is deriv'd *Sabazius* a name of Bacchus in some countries, mention'd more than once by Aristophanes. His priests were call'd Σαβοί, and his nocturnal mysteries Σαβαζία⁶. *Saboi* as well as *Evoi* is the noise which that God's drunken priests and devotees made in the streets, and at their solemnities. We have these two words joyn'd together by Demosthenes, as expressing the same thing⁷. The Scholiast upon Aristophanes several times acquaints us, that

¹ Cauf. Plant. L. 6. c. 15. edit. Dan. Heinfii.

² Τὰς τε ἀρχαῖς καὶ τὰς κίχχευς καὶ ἰδιωτικῶς οἶμους καὶ πίνουσιν. L. 49. p. 413. edit. Leunclavii. Hanov. 1606.

³ — vulgo in Dalmatia Pannoniaque Provinciis gentili barbaroque sermone appellatur *Sabaism*. In Isai. c. 19.

⁴ Est autem *Sabaia* ex hordeo vel frumento in liquorem converfis pauper-tinus potus. L. 26. c. 8. edit. Gronov.

⁵ In hoc genere varia lego fuisse nomina, nam *Zythum* dixisse Ægyptum invenio, *Sabaium* Illyrios. Anim. 2. 12.

⁶ Potter Archaeol. vol. 1. p. 396.

⁷ Pro corona.

from hence to be sure are we to derive our English word *Brew* or also *Beer*. If any one do's not think this the right derivation of the word *Brutum*, let him consider whether it may not come from the Hebrew בְּרוֹת *bruth* which signifies *cibus, alimentum*, as the liquor is made of what serves likewise for food; for to use Dio Cassius's expression, men both *eat* and *drink* barley -- or perhaps good ale might be thought both victuals and drink, and therefore be properly call'd *bruth* or nourishment. From this Hebrew word probably comes the Greek βρώσιον which signifies to *eat*.

The next name for barley wine worthy of our consideration is *Curmi* or κέρμι. But in what country this word was chiefly us'd I don't pretend to say. This is certain that it is in Dioscorides, who has a chapter entitl'd περὶ κέρμιδος¹. The learned Matthiolus's commentary upon that chapter is large and may be consulted by the curious. It is sometimes written κόρμα according to the great Cafaubon.² Sometimes it is called *Curmen* or *Furmen*, for it was common to confound Digamma Aeolicum with C³. Dioscorides mentions κέρμι and ζύθος as two sorts of liquors, and so do's Ulpian, if we take the right reading, when he is determining what the liquors are, which in law are comprehended under the title of *Wine*. The question is this. If a testator bequeaths to any one all the *wine* in his cellar, will the Executor be oblig'd to give the Legatee all the *beer* and *ale* which shall be

script to countenance it. Εὖν καὶ λακτίον καὶ ζυθὸν καὶ τὸν τ' οὐσίον λαλόντων μέμενον ἂν τὸ πίνον αἶμα τ' οὐσίον σημαίη. -- τί γὰρ ἡ χαλεπότης αὐτοῖς σφοδρῆται. Μαμμῶν] ἀκριβοῦς οὐσίον τ' οὐσίον λαλόντων.

¹ L. 2. c. 81.

² In Athenaeum. L. 4. 3. 13.

³ Salmasius has taken notice of this in his notes on Inscript. Herodis, p. 51. Paris. 1619. 4to. "Digamma Aeolicum confundebant cum C. *Curmen* & *Furmen* pro eodem dicebant, Glossæ. *Curmen* ζύθος ἀπὸ σίνου. *Curmi* Dioscoridi dicitur: alibi *Furmen* vocatur: sic *Corcilla* & *Furcilla* vocatur: sic "*Culina* & *Fulina* idem."

found

found there as it is wine made of barley? Ulpian says neither the ale nor beer is bequeath'd, neither *zythum*, nor *camum*, (for *camum* read *curmi*) nor *cervisia* ¹. What difference there was in these liquors I cannot find out from any of the ancient writers; there might be such a variety made from *barley* as we have at present, viz. *small beer*, *ale* and *strong beer* ². As for the derivation of the word *Curmi*, I make no doubt but that it comes from the Hebrew כרם *vinea*, for it was the wine of the country where there was not plenty of grapes.

In Spain this liquor, we are told by Pliny, was call'd *Celia* and *Ceria* ³. Florus says that the Spaniards call'd it *Celia* ¹.

¹ *Siquis vinum legaverit, omne continetur, quod ex vinea natum vinum permanfit --- Certè Zythum quod in quibusdam provinciis ex tritico vel ex bordeo vel pane conficitur, non continebitur. Simili modo nec camum nec Cervisia continebitur.* L. 9. Digest. de trit. vino, vel ol. leg. [Lib. 33. tit. 6.] Here surely *pane* cannot be thought right, and therefore I would with Dalechamp read *Panico*, which is a kind of grain or seed like *millet*. Plin. Nat. Hist. L. 18. c. 7. *Camum* is a word which Pancirollus says he never met with any where else, and therefore he would read *carmum*. Var. Lect. L. 2. c. 85. I would read *Curmi*. Lindenbrogius is for letting *camum* remain, for he says the word is to be found in *Apicius*. This *Apicius* is a writer I own I never read, as I never concern myself about culinary affairs, and always carry a better sawce about me for all meats than any of that worthy Gentleman's invention: so that I cannot confute Lindenbrogius. I would not derive *camum* (if there is such a word) from *καλιδος* *calidus*, as all the Etymological writers I have seen do, but from *Χαμιν* an ancient name of *Ægypt*, given it from the blackness of it's soil, the word in the *Ægyptian* language signifying the black part or pupil of the eye. See Plutarch *Is.* and *Osir.* p. 364. *Chemmis* [*Χίμμις*] is also the name of a city in *Thebais*, as Herodot. informs us, L. 2. c. 91. and so do's Diod. Sic. L. 1. p. 11. — πάλαι καὶ τῶν Θεβαίων καλεσθῆναι χημιν ἢ χημιν —

² It is certain they had different ways of malting or brewing in different countries. So Strabo informs us, καὶ δὲ ζῦθος ἰδίως μὲν ἐκ δαμάσκηνης παρ' αἰγύπτου (sc. Αἰγυπτίους) καὶ ἐκ δ' ἐκ παλαιῶν καὶ παρ' ἰνδοῦς δ' αἱ ἐκ δαμάσκηνης ἀφ' αἰγύπτου. p. 824.

³ Ex iisdem (sc. frugibus) fiunt & potus *Zythum* in *Ægypto*, *Celia* & *Ceria* in *Hispania*. Nat. hist. L. 12. c. 25.

lia 1. If Pliny took those two names for the same liquor, he might possibly be mistaken: there might besides *Ale* be a liquor in Spain call'd *Ceria* (like our mead) made of honey, which word is then deriv'd from *κηρίον favus* of which the liquor was made, or else from an Arabic word *Kir*, which as Martinius says, signifies *Cera*. Accordingly Diod. Siculus tells us that in Gaul they made a liquor of barley call'd *Zythus*, and another of honey, from washing the honeycombs, which liquor might probably enough be call'd *Ceria* 2. As for the derivation of the word *Celia*, Orofius who seems to think this liquor was made of wheat, and several others imagine it comes from *calefacere*, because the water must be boil'd before it be put upon the barley 3. For my own part I cannot allow this to be the true Etymology of the word: it seems rather to be of Hebrew extraction, and to be deriv'd from *קלי* *kali* or *קליא* *kalia* 4, which properly signifies *parched corn*, or *parched barley*, that is in truth *malted barley*, of which they were us'd to make their *ale* or *strong beer*, as well as

1 — quum sese prius epulis, quasi inferiis, implevissent, carnis semicrudae, & celiae, sic vocant indigenam ex frumento potionem. L. 2. c. 18.

2 Πίμψ κρητακιδάουσι ἐν τῷ κερῆτι τὸ στυμμενόνον ζῆτον, καὶ τὰ μέλα πλέουσιν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀποπλέουσιν χυόντι. Lib. 5. p. 211. I can't but express my surprize that the learned Casaubon should cite this passage as signifying that the Gauls us'd *vessels* or *cups* made of *wax*, which Strabo does indeed assert of the Spaniards and Celtae, καίτοις δὲ ἀγγύουσιν χυόντι. καὶ αὖτε καὶ οἱ Κέλται. L. 3. p. 155. see the notes of Casaubon. But Diodorus is, in the place quoted, speaking of *drink* and not of *vessels*. This shows how cautious we ought to be in trusting to the quotations made by learned men — I will therefore here say as the learned Le Clerc does upon a like occasion. *Ita nunc, & viris doctis Veteres citantibus ad testimonium nimium credito.*

3 Speaking of the Numantians he says, Subito portis eruperunt larga prius potione usi non vini, cujus ferax is locus non est, sed succo tritici per artem confecto, quem succum à calefaciendo Celiam vocant. L. 5. c. 17.

4 This word is us'd several times in the old testament. Lev. 23. 14. 1 Sam. 17. 17. &c. 25. v. 18.

we, as I hope to prove by and by. I must here add that our English word *Ale* comes from the same Original, tho' perhaps a true bowser would rather derive *ale* ab *alendo* it being his food and nourishment.

Cervisia is another word which was us'd by the Ancients for this *barley wine*. Pliny (if I am not mistaken) is the first who mentions this name for it, and he says it was so call'd in Gaul ¹, so also says Adrian Junius ². Ulpian (we have already seen) makes use of this word, as does Servius in his notes upon Virgil ³. Isidorus thinks it is deriv'd from Ceres ⁴. But I am entirely of Vossius's opinion who supposes it is by a Syncope for *Cerevisia*, and so comes from *Cereris vis* ⁵, as it has the strength of the corn in it.

I shall take notice but of one name more and that is, *πίνον*. This I would not have mention'd because it is so rarely to be met with, had it not been us'd (as we are inform'd by Athenaeus ⁶) by the great Aristotle himself, who tells us that barley wine was call'd *πίνον*. From whence this word is deriv'd there is no difficulty in finding out. Every one must see that it comes from *πίνα bibo*.

I have now thoroughly examin'd and consider'd all the remarkable names, which barley wine is call'd by, amongst the ancient Greek and Roman writers: and I am afraid by this time I have pretty well tir'd my readers, especially those who have no

¹ *Cervisia* in Gallia. Nat. hist. L. 25. c. 22.

² *Cervisiam Gallos*. Animadv. L. 2. c. 12.

³ *Potionis genus est quod cervisia nuncupatur*. ad Georg. L. 3. v. 380.

⁴ *Cervisia à Cerere*, id est, fruge vocata: est enim potio ex seminibus frumenti vario modo confecta. L. 20. c. 43.

⁵ V. Etymolog. in v. *Cervisia*.

⁶ Οι φησὶ Λεοντίλας ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ μίθῃ ὅτι τὰ τῶν ἀποπίντων οἱ τὸν κελῖνον πίνασιν. οἱ δὲ Πίνον καλεῖται, λέγουσι ὅτι οὗτοί. πλὴν ἰδίῃ π. συμμεινῇ αὐτὸ τὰς τ' αὐτῶν τὸ κελύφει Πίνον. Deipnos. L. 10. p. 447.

taft for that moft excellent and ufeul part of learning call'd Etymology. As to the modern names of this liquor I fhall take no notice of them, having indeed already mention'd fome of them as they came in my way.

From the paffages already quoted, it plainly enough appears, that in many parts of the world, but more efpecially in fuch countries, as were not fit for vineyards, there was a pleafant and ftrong liquor made of barley. That this was originally invented to fupply the place of wine is plain from the nature of the thing, as it is likewife attested by feveral authors of Antiquity. Thus Diod. Siculus tells us that Bacchus taught men to make a ftrong liquor of barley in thofe countries where grapes would not grow¹, and likewife that the Gauls prepar'd the like liquor, becaufe thro' the coldnefs of their climate they could make no wine², and Julian in an epigram in the Anthology addrefs'd to *beer*, obferves that the Celtic provinces made it for want of Vines³, and Dio Caffius informs us that the Panonians who made a liquor of barley, from the nature of their country, could have very little wine or oyl. See L. 49. already quoted. The unfitnefs or incapacity of the foil, for bringing grapes to perfection, was undoubtedly (as I have already obferv'd in the beginning of this treatife) the occafion of inventing *beer* or *ale*, for had all countries been capable of producing good wine, perhaps malt liquor might never have been invented, however in all probability not fo early, as we find it was. But ftill in procefs of time even in thofe coun-

¹ Τῶν διδάξαν τὰς χεῖρας ἔχειν μὲν δυνατὸν ἐπιδιδόναι τὴν τ' ἀμπελὸν φέρονται. Diod. L. 4. p. 147.

² Γαλάται οἱ τῶν τ' κρήνων (fc, vines and olives) τελευτήσαντες πόμα ἐκποιεῖν οὐκ ἔμελλον. id. L. 5. p. 311.

³ ——— Σὺ Κέλται

Τῇ ποίῃ βοτρυοὶ πύλον ἀπ' ἀνὰ χεῖρας. Anthol. 1. 95.

tries which abounded in grapes and wine, this barley liquor was very much drunk by the poorer sort of people: for as it was even there a cheaper liquor than wine, the poor were able to raise their drooping spirits at a lower price, and could afford to get drunk oftener with it, than they could with wine. Athenaeus tells us from Dio the Academic, that it was invented for the benefit of the poor who were not in circumstances to buy wine¹. But it did not always continue a liquor amongst the poor only, for in time when improvements were made in malting and brewing, (and no new art is presently brought to perfection) it came to be esteem'd by the richer sort of people, who could have afforded to drink a dearer liquor: and persons of the best fashion and taste frequently drank it, and that sometimes to excess. That this was the case amongst the Jews is, I think, clear from several passages in the old testament. It may with great probability be inferr'd from the prohibition which the high priest was under, as well as the inferior priests, with regard to this liquor no less than wine: they were requir'd to abstain from both, when they went into the tabernacle to minister at divine service. *And the Lord spake unto Aaron saying, Do not drink wine nor strong drink thou nor thy sons with thee, when ye go into the tabernacle of the congregation lest ye die: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations.* Levit. 10. 8. By *strong drink* we are here to understand the liquor I am treating of. The reason of this prohibition must certainly be, that the ministering Clergy might not at such a time and in so sacred a place behave indecently, and indeed this is what is said in the next verse, *that ye put difference between holy and unholy, and between unclean and clean.* And Philo Ju-

¹ Οτι τὸς ἀλφ' οὐλῶς ἀνεῳχτο οἶνον τ' ἐν τ' ἀγίῳ θυσιασθῶν οἶνον. L. 1. fin. p. 34.
— and also wine & undistilled Zythos. L. 4. p. 152.

daeus very justly observes upon this occasion, that sons or servants, or subjects, if they were upon any business to approach their fathers, or masters, or governors, would be so prudent as to be sober at such a time, lest they should blunder or mistake in any thing they should say or do¹. As this prohibition seems to be given immediately after the unhappy affair of Nadab and Abihu the sons of Aaron, some learned men have thought that they had both got drunk with one or other of these liquors, which occasion'd their *offering strange fire before the Lord which he commanded them not*, for which sin of theirs *there went out fire from the Lord and devoured them and they died before the Lord*. The very learned Mr. Shuckford gives another reason for this prohibition: he imagines that *Aaron's heart upon the death of his two sons bad almost sunk within him, and that he would have taken some refreshment to support his spirits against the load of sorrow that now pressed heavy upon him, and that this occasioned this command now given him*² --- I will not, for my own part, pretend to determine what was the immediate occasion of making this law --- I only argue from it that there must manifestly be some danger, lest the Priests should drink strong beer or ale to excess, even when they were to minister in the tabernacle, which plainly proves that they were used

1 Διατίθειται μὴ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ ἀρχὴν οἰκίᾳ καὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτῶν. ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ. Περὶ μίθου p. 174. edit. Turneb. Paris. 1552.

2 Connect. of sacr. and prof. hist. v. 3. p. 183. Some may perhaps think this a very strange supposition, for a perfectly Orthodox Divine to make concerning the good high priest, and that it would much better have become a Collins or a Tindall — It may not be improper to observe here, that in Heliopolis no wine was allow'd to be brought into the temple. Οἷον δὲ μὴ εἰς Ἡλιόπολιν φερόμενον τὸ οἶνον οὐκ ἔφερον τὸ πρῶτον, ὡς τὸ ἱερὸν, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς ἐμείκει οἶνον, ὃ Κερὶν καὶ βασιλῆως ἱερῶντες· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι χερῶντες μὲν, ἀλλὰ δὲ πρῶτον δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀργαίαι ἔχουσιν. Plut. Is. & Osir. p. 353.

to this liquor at other times. We learn also from the prophet Isaiah, that both Priest and Prophet had often gone beyond the bounds of sobriety in the drinking this liquor: *The priest and the prophet have erred through strong drink, they are swallow'd up of wine, they are out of the way through strong drink* בִּשְׁכָר c. 28. v. 7. From these passages then I conclude that this barley wine was a liquor very agreeable in itself, and drank by people of the best fashion and circumstances amongst the Jews. But the Jews were not the only people that were us'd to get drunk with it; that which Xenophon tells us he met with in Armenia, was so strong that it was hardly drinkable without mixing water with it¹: and therefore it is not at all improbable that the men in those parts were sometimes overtaken with it. From Athenaeus we learn a great deal of the effects of it amongst the Egyptians, some of which are to be seen in this island at this time when it is drunk to excess. He tells us from Dio the Academic that it made them so gay and chearful, that they sung and danc'd, and did all the foolish things, which men were used to do, when they had drunk too much wine². And he quotes a very remarkable passage out of Aristotle, which mentions the different manner in which *grape*, and *barley wine* operate when they have made men drunk. Those who have taken the former to excess (he says) fall on their faces, but those, who have taken the latter, on their backs; the one is *carotic* and the other is *carebaric*. As to the truth of this observation, I have very little to say, but I cannot help taking notice that the first man, we find upon re-

1 — πᾶσι ἀκραιὸς ἢ ἡ μέν τις ὄδω ἐπιχέει. Καρ. Λικτ. L. 4. p. 314.

2 Καὶ ὅτως ἐδίδωκε τὸν τῶν αὐτοφροσύνης ὡς καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ ἐχθρῶν ἔκαστον πρὸς ὅσον τὸν ἐλαίον ἡμερῶν. Αἰσχυρίδης δὲ φησὶ ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἀπ' οἴνου μεθύοντες ἐπὶ στήθεσσι πίπτουσιν. οἱ δὲ κρείττους πρηνέστες ἐκπνέουσιν τὴν κεφαλὴν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἶνος κρηταῖος, ὁ δὲ κρείττος κρηταῖος. Lib. I. fin. p. 34. see also p. 447.

cord to have been drunk, fell upon his back tho' it was *grape wine*, which was got into his head; he did not fall ἐπὶ πρόσωπον¹: and we read the same of Polyphemus in Homer

Ἡ γὰρ ἀνακλινθεὶς πῖον ὑπὸ. Odyss. 9.

In our days however, especially in this part of the world, there is no forming a judgment with certainty, how wine will operate in this respect; for, I dare say, there is hardly ever any man drunk in England with the original juice, or what Moses elegantly stiles the *pure blood of the grape*, Deut. c. 32. v. 14. which is to be sure the liquor which Aristotle meant by *Wine*. As to *Ale* or *Strong Beer*, I have been told by those who frequent wakes and revels, that it operates differently according to the difference of the sex, and is both *carotic* and *carebaric*².

I cannot recollect or find any such passage in all Aristotle's works, as Athenaeus here quotes. Speaking of the same thing in another place, he cites a treatise of Aristotle's concerning drunkenness περὶ μέθης. There may have been and I think undoubtedly was such a treatise once in being, for it is mention'd by Plutarch; as well as Athenaeus, but I imagine it is now lost. However there are a great many learned men among the moderns who have quoted it, as if they had seen and read

¹ This was the case of Noah. see Gen. 9. 21. & seqq.

² What Aristotle said upon this point might be a vulgar error in his time, and he is not the only great man who has taken up with common opinions without examination. Thus Pliny relates as a well known fact, that the dead bodies of men always float upon their backs, but those of women upon their faces, as they are suppos'd to have the greater share of modesty. *Virorum cadavera supina fluitare, foeminarum prona, velut pudori defunctorum parcente natura*. Nat. hist. L. 7. c. 17. And the learned Rhodiginus wisely imagining it to be true -- endeavours to account for it.

³ Γεχαφὸς Ἀρωπῖλος αὐτῷ τῷ μεθῇ. Sympotiac. L. 3. Q. 3.

it¹. My opinion is they have only read of such a treatise in Athenaeus or Plutarch. And I'm afraid it is common for modern writers, in order to make a great show of learning, to take passages at second hand, and refer to books which they have never perus'd. And this may account for the blunders we find as to books and chapters in quotations from the Ancient writers.

Seeing now I have prov'd that there was in the most ancient times, an inebriating liquor in very many countries which was made of *barley*, perhaps the reader will expect that I should inform him how it was made, and whether they first *malted* the barley as we do. Here I must acknowledge, that I cannot clear up matters so well as I could wish, but I am not without hopes in some degree of satisfying the readers curiosity. For my own part I cannot but think they made their *beer* or *ale* of *Malt*. It is very plain from the writings of Moses, and of some others in the old testament that they were used some how or other to *roast*, or *parch* barley.* It is said *ye shall eat neither bread, nor parched corn, until the self same day that ye have brought an offering unto your God*². Boaz, we are also told in the book of Ruth, gave to Ruth *parched corn*³. Jesse likewise sent by David to his other sons, that were in the army, *parched corn* or *barley*⁴. We have also *roasted* or *parched barley* mention'd by Aristophanes,

¹ Hordeum inebriare satis affirmat Aristoteles in libello *De ebrietate*, & Tacitus *De moribus Germanorum*. Tiraquill. in Alex. ab Alex. L. 3. c. 11. — Obiter id enotabimus mirum esse quod in libro *de ebrietate* Aristoteles prodit. Cael. Rhodig. Lect. Antiq. L. 7. c. 26. and so Cerda upon Virg. Geo. 3. 380. Inter cervisiae genera Zythum celebrant Aristot. & Diodorus; ille in libro *de Temulentia* &c. Who that did not know better would not imagine that these learned men had read this treatise of Aristotle?

² Levit. 23. 14.

³ Ruth 2. v. 14.

⁴ 1 Sam. 17. v. 17.

which

which he calls *κάχρυς* ¹. Pliny likewise tells us, that the way the Greeks made the sort of food call'd *Polenta*, was, that after they had wetted the barley, they let it lye drying one night, and the next day they parch'd or fry'd it, and then ground it ². I would not have the reader imagine that I produce these passages, as absolutely, and of themselves proving, that the *beer* or *ale* of the Ancients was made of *malted barley*: I know they do not, because they mean only parched corn or malt which was design'd for food, and was commonly eat. But however they do most undoubtedly prove, that they manag'd their barley in a manner something like our method of making *Malt*. And if we

¹ Ἄδου πινούσιν ὡς τὴν κάχρυς γυναικὶν ἀλέουσι. Νισφ. Α. 5. Sc. 2. v. 10.
And sing drinking as a woman grinding parch'd barley: where the Schol. says, *Κάχρυς*, ἀπὸ τοῦ καχρὸς πικρυγόμενος ἔδου δὲ αἱ ἀλδουσι ὡς τὴν κακρήνιμψαλ τὴν κάχρυς. Here we may observe two things: 1. That women of old at the mill were us'd to sing for their diversion as ours do at the wash tub. This may confirm Grotius's interpretation of Jerem. 25. 10. Our translation has *the sound of millstones*. He interprets it *vocem puellarum molam trusantium, quam ἱππύλλιος ἀδῶν Graeci vocabant*. 2. It is worth observing that grinding was in the most ancient times the work and business of the women, at it is at present also in the East. This was the practice in *Ægypt* where handmills for grinding corn were invented — *Even unto the first born of the maid servant that is behind the mill*. Exod. 11. 5. This illustrates what our Saviour says, *two women shall be grinding at the mill, the one shall be taken and the other left*. Matth. 24. 41. Alex. ab Alexandro is therefore mistaken when he says, *cum veteribus molarum nullus esset usus*, even if he meant the ancient Romans. L. 3. c. 11. The great Sir Is. Newton asserts that about the time of Samuel, *Myles set up a quern or handmill to grind corn, and is reputed the first among the Greeks, who did so, and seems to have had corn and artificers from Ægypt*. Chronol. p. 171. From *Myles* comes the greek word *μύλα*, the Latin *mola*, and the English *mill*.

² Antiquissimum in cibis hordeum — Polentam quoque Graeci non aliunde praeferunt. Pluribus fit haec modis. Graeci perfusum aqua hordeum siccant nocte una, ac postero die frigunt, deinde molis frangunt. Nat. Hist. L. 18. c. 7.

D

suppose

suppose this was first done for food, it is highly probable they soon found out that this was the best method for making it into liquor too. My opinion will still further be confirm'd, when it is consider'd that their *Ale* or *Beer* always receiv'd a *fermentation*, which I think it would hardly have done, if the barley had not been *malted*, unless they had added something of a fermenting nature to it, which we do not find they did: this I take to be the meaning of Galen when he tells us that it proceeds from *putrefaction*¹ --- Paulus Aegineta who liv'd at the latter end of the fourth century or the very beginning of the fifth, and made an abridgment of Galen's works says the same thing². And Theophrastus, who is of greater antiquity than either of them, takes notice of it's *fermentation*³. Virgil uses the word *Fermentum* for a fermented liquor made of grain or fruits, which was in use amongst the Northern nations⁴. Tacitus also tells us that the Germans had for their common drink a fermented liquor made of *barley*⁵. Pliny plainly acquaints us in one place, that they had in Gaul and Spain what we at present call *yeast* or *barm* which made their bread light⁶,

1 Ζῆσις ἀριμύτης ἐν τῷ κελύει ἢ σμικρῇ κηρύχῳ ὡς αἱ ἐν σπιτίδιος μαζουρά. De simp. med. fac. v. 2. p. 54.

2 Ζῆσις αἰθέρος ἐν τῷ ὑδατί καὶ τῷ ἀμύδι ὡς αἱ ἐν σπιτίδιος μαζουρά. L. 7. p. 108. edit. Ald. An. 1525.

3 Τῆς δὲ καὶ ἐξίμυτης τῇ φύσει καὶ ἀποθήκευσι ἐν χυλῷ ἀγνοῖ πύμας οἷον ὡς οἱ τὸς οἶνος ποιῶντες ἐν τῷ κελύει καὶ τῷ πυρέ. De caus. plant. L. 6. c. 15.

4 Hic noctem ludo ducunt & pocula laeti

Fermento atque acidis imitantur vitea sorbis. Geor. 3. 379.

Dr. Trapp interprets *fermentum* yeast or barm, which, he thinks, is put for the liquor which it makes — Mr. Martyn is for reading *frumento* without any MS. or reason to support it.

5 Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus. De moribus German. c. 23.

6 Galliae & Hispaniae frumento in potum resoluto spuma ita concreta pro *fermento* utuntur, qua de causa levior illis quam caeteris panis est. Nat. Hist. L. 18. c. 7.

as it does ours, and in another place he lets us know that the froth of *ale* or *beer* which I suppose is the *yeast*, is very good for the Ladies to wash their faces with ¹. --- I must not here omit what Isidorus says, because he gives us a very good description of the method they us'd of making *wheat* into *Malt*, and we may suppose the same of *barley* ². He tells us that they first wetted it, after which they dry'd it, then they powder'd it, and the liquor they made of it afterwards *fermented*. It would be unpardonable if I was to take no notice of a remarkable passage in Xenophon, who tells us that in the famous retreat they found in some part of Asia in houses under ground, a large quantity of *barley wine*, kept in great jars. In these Jars with the liquor was the *barley* also itself up to the brim, and there were reeds or quills, which they were to suck the drink through ³. I wish he had given us some account of the barley whether it had been malted or no, but he do's not so much as tell us whether it was ground or whole --- But that the *Ægyptians* were us'd to grind their barley for drink is plain from Hecataeus as quoted twice by Athenaeus ⁴.

¹ Zythum in Ægypto, coelia & ceria in Hispania, cervisia & plura genera in Gallia, aliisque provinciis, quorum omnium spuma cutem faeminarum in facie nutrit. L. 22. c. ult.

² Zythus est potio ex succo tritici per artem confecta; suscitatur enim igne vis illa germinis madefactae frugis, ac deinde siccat, & post in farinam redacta molli succo admiscetur, quo fermento sapor austeritatis & calor ebrietatis adjicitur. L. 10. c. 43.

³ Ηνω δὲ καὶ σκευὴ καὶ κερατὴ καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ οἷος κρήνη οὗ κρητῆρος· οὗτω δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ κερατὴ ἰσχυρὰ, & κερατὴ κοίταιτο, αἱ μὲν μάζες, αἱ δὲ, ἰλάττες, ῥοπαλὸν εὐὸν ἔχοντες. Τύττος δ' ἴδου, ἵππῃ τις διψῶν, λαβόντα ἅς τὸ πῆμα ἀμύζει. Κυρ. Λισσ. L. 4. p. 314.

⁴ Αἰγυπτίους δ' ἑκαταῖος ἀποφάσκει φασὶν αἶμα, — τὰς ὃ κρητὴς ἅς πῆμα κερατὴ κοίταιτο. P. 418. Εὐσταθίος ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου — ἵππῃ τις τὰς κερατὴς ἅς τὸ πῆμα κερατὴ κοίταιτο. P. 447.

It remains now that I give some account of the inventor of this barley wine, and of the time when it was invented.

It is generally agreed upon amongst the Ancients, that the *Ægyptians*, who were indeed the inventors of most useful arts and sciences, and from whom most artificial good things in life have proceeded, were the first who made it. This we learn from Dio the Academic in Athenaeus¹, and Columella² calls it the *Pelufian*, and Galen³ the *Alexandrian* drink. We may further collect the same from some passages already quoted --- And it is worth observing that we find no mention made of it in the history of the Old Testament, till after the Children of Israel's exit out of *Ægypt*, where they had undoubtedly learn'd to brew and to drink it.

For this excellent liquor then the world is indebted to an old *Ægyptian* King; (for there was a time when Kings study'd arts and sciences, and were very useful to the nations they govern'd by consulting the good of their people, more than their own private interest.) His name was *Osiris*⁴, who was after his death

¹ Δίων — φιλοῖται ἢ φιλοπύται τὰς Αἰγυπτίους γροῖδας, ἐκζητῶν τι παρ' αὐτοῦ βοήθημα, ὥς τὸς Ἀφ' πελῶος λυγρῶντες εἶναι, ἃ οὐ τ' ἀλλοῖσι γροῖδαισι γίνεται. p. 34.

² Ut Pelusiaci proritet pocula zythi. L. 10. v. 116. edit. Juntae.

³ Aphorism. 2.

⁴ Diodorus Siculus giving an account of the actions and exploits of *Osiris* says, ὁ δὲ τις χρόνος τὸ φυτόν τῆς ἀμπέλου μὴ παρὰ δέχοντο διδάξαι τὸ οὐ τῆς ἀλλοῦς κατασκευάζοντο πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων ἢ πολλὰ τ' αὐτῶν τ' οἶνον ἐκδοῦναι τι ἢ δυνάμει. p. 12. See also what the same author says of the Grecian *Bacchus* to whom the worthy deeds of *Osiris* are ascrib'd. L. 4. p. 147. *Bacchus* or *Dionysius* was also another name for *Osiris* — And learned men have from hence confounded *Osiris*, that is, the *Ægyptian*, with the Grecian *Bacchus*, as the Greeks have done before them. *Orpheus* was the first who transferr'd the birth and exploits of *Osiris* to *Bacchus*, and the Grecians fond of their own countrymen readily receiv'd the error: this we learn from *Diod. Sic.* L. 1. p. 14. & 60. These vain people claim'd several heroes and great men who were born at

a great

for the great good he had done his country, and mankind in general, worshipped as a God. It is no easy matter to fix exactly the time when this great man liv'd, and there have been various disputes amongst the learned concerning his age. Indeed there is nothing in antiquity more dark, or involv'd in greater obscurity and confusion than the heathen Theology, and hardly any thing more difficult to settle, than the times, in which those heroes liv'd, who were after their deaths deify'd by their countrymen. I think most learned men who have written upon this subject have been greatly mistaken, having err'd in the fundamental principle they have built upon. The general method has been first of all to take it for granted, that the deify'd Hero is in fact some person mention'd in the Old Testament, and that the traditions concerning the great ancestors of mankind, or the records of the noble actions of ancient patriarchs, or later Jewish leaders or Kings were interwoven with the histories of the Gods, who are only suppos'd to be Scripture worthies. This is the opinion of Vossius, Bochart, Huet, Gale, Stillingfleet and many others. Upon this principle various ways have been taken by these learned men to prove a heathen God, and a patriarch to be one and the same person --- Sometimes this is done by showing some similitude between the sacred and the profane name, (and here 2 or 3 letters out of 6 or 7 are sufficient) or between the significations of their names in their different languages: sometimes the argument is drawn from some similar exploit recorded of the one in the old testament, and of the other in profane history, or from the invention or improvement of some one art or science, attributed to them both, or from

a great distance from their country, καὶ ὅτι διὰ τὸν Εὐρώην ἐξορίζεται τὸν
ἐπιφανιστὴν ἑκάς τι πρὸς τὸν. Id. p. 14.

some

some similar accident or circumstance in their birth or education. Instances of every one of these methods might be produc'd, which are indeed all of them fallacious and good for little. For by the same way of arguing (as I could easily make appear) there is hardly any great man even amongst the Greeks or Romans, nay French or English, who might not be prov'd to be a Patriarch, or Jewish worthy, whose deeds are recorded in Scripture. Nay we need desire no better proof of the little stress there is to be laid upon this way of reasoning, than the difference of Opinion amongst these men of learning, as to the patriarch who is said to be the God, the identity being referr'd by some to one patriarch, and by others to another --- The learned Vossius¹ supposes Bacchus to be Moses, because they are both said to be born in Ægypt and both extremely handsome, and were alike in some other trifling circumstances. Others will have him to be Noah, because they both taught men to plant vineyards, and to make wine, whilst Bochart imagines him to be Nimrod². Saturn and Adam are thought by some to be the same person, whilst Bochart has 14 parallels between Saturn and Noah. The learned Huet³ refers most of the great actions of the deify'd heroes to Moses; according to him Saturn, Pluto, Neptune, Mercury, and many others all center in the Jewish Lawgiver; he might as easily have prov'd the same of Romulus, and Charles the 12th. With respect to our Osiris also learned men have been divided: some fancy him to have been Mizraim⁴,

¹ De origine Idolol.

² Phaleg. 1.

³ Demonstr. Evang. prop. 4. c. 4. Univerſa propemodum Ethnicorum Theologia ex Moſe, Moſiſve actis aut ſcriptis manavit. See alſo Gale's Court of the Gentiles. L. 2. c. 7.

⁴ Shuckford connect. v. 1. p. 205.

others

others Joseph ¹, others Moses ², others Esau ³ and others Sefac ⁴. — It would be tedious to multiply examples of this kind; but it may be proper to observe with respect to these already produc'd, that the persons in the old testament pitch'd upon for a particular heathen God, how like soever each may be thought to the God, seem very far from having any remarkable likeness to one another --- Thus it will be difficult to find out any similitude worth observing (for some trifling ones may certainly be found) between Moses and Nimrod, or between Noah and Nimrod, tho' they have been all three taken, or rather mistaken for Bacchus, or between Mizraim and Esau who have been thought the same with Osiris. This opinion concerning the Heathen Theology, was probably first taken up from a principle and design of doing honour to the sacred writings of the old testament. But I cannot see that their credit is at all concern'd in the controversy. A man may surely have a great veneration for the old testament, and yet believe there were great and wise Kings and Heroes amongst the heathens, who are not mention'd there under any name, or title whatsoever. Why may we not suppose there was once a man nam'd Bacchus, who was neither Moses, nor Noah nor Nimrod? Could there not have been a good and excellent King in Ægypt nam'd Osiris, famous for instructing his people in agriculture and other arts and sciences who was neither Mizraim, nor Joseph, nor Moses? Certainly there might as I don't at all doubt but there was --- To all this I beg leave

¹ Voss. de Idol. L. 1. c. 29. and Stillingfleet in Orig. Sacr.

² Gale's Court of the Gentiles. L. 2. c. 27. and Huet. Dem. Evan. prop.

⁴ c. 4.

³ I cannot recollect who was the Author of this opinion, but the main argument for it is that *Esau dwelt in mount Seir*. Gen. 36. 8.

⁴ Newton's Chronol. p. 22. and p. 68.

to add, that it must be allow'd possible, that the same kind of exploits might be perform'd by different men of valour in different parts of the world. Thus Joshua did great feats in Canaan, and so did Hercules in Greece and elsewhere: nay several similar circumstances may attend the victories of two generals in distant countries and ages. Thus a victory of Joshua over the Amorites was compleated by a great and terrible hailstorm, for thus we read that *it came to pass as they fled before Israel, and were in the going down to Beth-boron, that the Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekab, and they died: they were more which died with hailstones, than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword.* Josh. 10. 11. and we are told by Pomponius Mela, that Jupiter assisted Hercules in gaining a victory by a like storm ¹. But it is ridiculous to argue from hence that Joshua and Hercules were one and the same man, as Vossius has done. --- What is still perhaps more remarkable, the same art may be invented, or however improv'd and taught by two or more persons who have never heard of one another. This I'm satisfy'd must have been the case with respect to several arts from which the conveniences and pleasures of life are deriv'd --- Tubal-cain might be *an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron* in his time and country, and one Vulcan might in another country and age teach men the art of working iron into arms or tools of husbandry. The argument from the similitude of the name won't prove these two to be one and the same person, if even to that we should add that Tubal-cain was lame, as we read that Vulcan was. So Jubal might be the inventor of Musick, or *the father*

¹ — in quo Herculem contra Albionem & Bergiona, Neptuni liberos, dimicantem, cum tela defecissent, ab invocato Jove adjutum imbre lapidum ferunt. Credas pluuisse, adeo multi passim & late jacent. Pomp. Mel. L. 2. c. 5.

of all such as handle the harp and organ, as we read of him, Gen. 4.21. But certainly the same kind of Musical instruments might be invented by another person in another country, and another age, where there was no tradition or historical account of Jubal. A man in Greece might invent the harp and organ as well as Jubal in the land of Nod. There might also be a man in one part of the world call'd Silenus noted for skill in divination, and who was us'd to ride from one place to another upon an As, both which things are recorded of Balaam the son of Beor in the book of Numbers; but it is monstrously absurd to conclude from hence (as learned men have done) that Silenus and Balaam are one and the same person. Noah likewise might plant vines in the country where he liv'd, and teach the art of making wine, and Osiris might do the same in Ægypt an hundred years after; for it is impossible to prove they were but one person, or that they liv'd at the same time. But I shall say no more at present of this absurd, tho' general, opinion concerning the heathen Gods — I cannot however entirely omit to take notice of another opinion, which has been lately broach'd, even much more ridiculous and absurd. The very ingenious and learned Monfr. La Pluche¹, has taken it into his head to deny that the Pagan Gods were originally either men or heavenly bodies, so that according to him there never was such a man as our Osiris the inventor of *Ale*. He confidently asserts that Osiris, Isis, Anubis, Horus, and others were originally neither real men, nor imaginary Deities. They were (he says) the letters of the ancient Alphabet, or the publick signs affix'd, whereby it had been agreed on to inform the people of the state of the heavens, of the order of the feasts, and the whole series of their natural works. A strange fancy indeed! He might

¹ Histoire du Ciel, 2 voll. à Paris. 1739.

as well say there never was such a man as Joseph, prime minister to King Pharaoh, or such a King as Romulus, who founded Rome. This is in my judgment at one stroke destroying the credit of all ancient Histories.

It is proper now that I give my own opinion of Osiris and of the time when he liv'd, and that in short is this --- Not a great while after Mizraim, the son of Ham, there was in Ægypt a King nam'd Osiris, of whom we read nothing in the books of Moses. This King did great good in that and in many other countries by teaching men the art of Agriculture, and instructing them in the different nature of soils¹. Among other things he taught them to make wine, where the land would produce grapes, but where it would not, he taught them to make a strong liquor of barley like our *ale* or *beer*. That these things were done by an Ægyptian King, who was in the language of that country call'd Osiris, cannot be deny'd by those, who have any faith in the ancient historians; and has indeed been already prov'd. The only thing disputable in this affair (I think) is the time in which he liv'd --- To place him before Mizraim the son of Ham would be placing him too early, especially as the historians tell us that he was a native of Ægypt --- which single circumstance makes it sufficiently evident that he was not Mizraim himself, notwithstanding all Mr. Shuckford's elaborate arguments

¹ Primus aratra manu solerti fecit Osiris,

Et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum. Tibul. L. i. el. 8. v. 30.

Τὸ δ' Οσίριδος ἐπινοουμένη τῷ τότε ἀπὸ τῆς αἰτίας τῆς ἀρχῆς. Diod. Sic. p. 9. — ἀλλ' ἔστιν τὸς ἀνθρώπους τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰτίας. id. p. 11. And Dionysius tells us that the Ægyptians were the first who introduc'd plowing and sowing.

Πρῶτοι δ' ἰμαρίωντες ἐκείνην αἰτίαν.

Καὶ αἰτίαν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπὶ αἰτίας ἀπὸ τῆς αἰτίας. Perieg. v. 234.

to prove the contrary : --- I suppose therefore that he reign'd a little after Mizraim : it might perhaps be a century, or something more ; for I wont pretend to determine a point exactly, which is so very obscure.

In placing him so early I differ (I do it however with great reluctance) from the great Sir Isaac Newton who fixes his age above a thousand years lower than I do. He takes him to be the same with Sefac. He was slain (Sir Isaac tells us *) in the fifth year of Afa by his brother Japetus, whom the Ægyptians call'd Typhon, Python, and Neptune. And Orus the son of Osiris, by the assistance of the Ethiopians, prevail'd and reign'd till the 15th year of Afa. I shall give two reasons for placing him so early.

In the first place it is agreed upon by the ancient historians, that Ofiris was worshipp'd in Ægypt under the figure of a bull, or a calf; for we have both these words made use of. Thus Diod. Siculus tells us that the two bulls call'd Apis and Mnevis were consecrated to him, and had divine honours pay'd them. The reason of this is certainly, because he taught men Agriculture, of which the bull or calf is a very proper emblem, being a creature of great use in that work: so the same author tells us in the same passage. Now this *μεγαλήν*, this *bull or calf*

1 Eudoxus in particular, as we learn from Plutarch, tells us that he was born at Busris — Εὐδόξος δὲ, παῖς τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λεγομένων, ἐκ Βουσίρων ἐν τῇ αἰγῇ, καὶ γὰρ πατρὶς αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα ἔστι Βουσίρων. *Id. & Osir. p. 359.*

2 Chronology — p. 21. and p. 68. and 99.

3 Τὰς ὃ παύρας τὰς ἰσθῆς, τὴν τι ἰσομεζέμεν Λατοῖ, καὶ τὸ Μελίον Οσείριδι προσεφασσάμεν
 ἔ τούτοις εἰσὶν αἱ ἐκ τῆς ἰσθῆς καὶ τῆς ἰσομεζέμεν πᾶσι Λατοῖσις· τούτοις γὰρ τὰ ζῶα τῆς ἰ-
 σθῆς ἢ τὴν οὐρανὸν ἐκτείνουσι μέγιστον ἐστὶν τὴν ἀρίστην, καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς
 μετρίως ἀφίλειαν. p. 13. The same reason he gives in another place, Τὰς δὲ
 παύρας τὰς ἰσθῆς — ἡμεῖς — ἄλλοι μὲν ἀφ' αὐτῆς τὴν μετρίως ἔχουσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀφ' αὐτῆς τὴν ἰ-
 σθῆς τὰς ἐκτείνουσι μέγιστον τούτοις ἰσομεζέμεν μετρίως τῆς μετρίως
 ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσθῆς. p. 55. and Monfr. Banier in a dissertation *sur l'origine du
 culte que les Egyptiens rendoient aux animaux*. says, Tout le monde fait que le

worship was of very great Antiquity. I make no doubt, that it was practis'd in Ægypt long before Jacob and his family settled there: for the calf which Aaron made as a symbol, under which the God of Israel was to be worshipp'd, seems to have been copy'd after that of the Egyptians¹. *He made them a molten calf.* Exod. 32. 4. The Jews appear in several instances to have had a very great fondness for the superstitions of Ægypt; and we can conceive no other probable reason, why the calf should of all creatures at that time have been pitch'd upon, as the best symbol of God, or why the Israelites should have been highly pleas'd with it, than that they had seen it worshipp'd by the Egyptians, as the symbol of their great God Osiris. They had seen their abominations, and their idols wood and stone, silver and gold, which were amongst them. Deut. 29. 17. which passage seems to relate as well to the idolatry of Ægypt as that of the nations, thro' which they had passed. It is besides very probable that very many, if not the greatest part of them, had comply'd with that idolatrous worship, whilst they were settled in that country. This may be collected from what Joshua says to them. c. 24. v. 14. *put away the Gods which your fathers serv'd on the other side of the flood, and in Ægypt:* and it appears likewise from the prophet Ezekiel. c. 20. v. 7. *Then said I unto them, cast ye away every man the abominations of his eyes, and defile not yourselves with the idols of Ægypt,* and also c. 23. v. 3.

bœuf étoit parmi les Egyptiens le symbole d' Osiris & Isis. Mem. de literat. tom. 6.

¹ This was the opinion of Philo Judæus, Ζαλωταὶ τῆ Αἰγυπτιακῆν θείων πλεονεξίαν ὡς χερσὶ πύρεσιν κατασκευασμένον, μίμησιν τῷ κτ' τῶν χειρῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἱερῶν αἰών, ὡς αἰὶν αἰώνων, καὶ χερσὶ ἀγγελοῦ ἱερῶν. Vit. Mos. L. 3. 461. and this seems to be the meaning of what St. Stephen says, *in their hearts they turned back again into Egypt saying unto Aaron, make us Gods to go before us.* Acts 7. 39, 40.

And

And they committed whoredoms in Ægypt: and their proneness to this idolatry even afterwards is clear from the 8th of the same chapter: *neither left she her whoredoms brought from Ægypt:* and God tells them by the same prophet, c. 20. v. 8. *they did not every man cast away the abominations of their eyes, neither did they forsake the idols of Ægypt* — I might produce several other arguments to prove that this *calf worship* was of Ægyptian original, but it would swell this treatise too much. The case seems to have been this. Moses had been called up into the mount that he might commune with God, and receive tables of stone, and a law and commandments which God had written, and he was in the mount 40 days and 40 nights. The Israelites thinking his absence very long imagined that he either would not or could not ever come again, and as they had been us'd to see the Ægyptians pay their adoration to their God under the symbol of a calf, and had a great part of them joyn'd in that worship, being bred up to it from their infancy, it was almost natural, that they should be desirous of having the like symbol of the God of their forefathers, who had deliver'd them from a state of bondage, and upon whom they depended for a settlement and freedom in another country. And I am quite of the learned Mr. Warburton's opinion, that the worshipping of the living animal was not yet introduc'd. It is not improper here to observe that Herodotus calls the Apis of the Ægyptians more than once *μῶχος*¹ a calf, which answers to the Hebrew word made use of by Moses לֶבֶן. Exod. 32. 4. It appears then sufficiently clear from what has been said, that Osiris must have been King in Ægypt a long time before Moses, seeing this calf worship was originally in honor of him.

¹ Ο Ν ΑΠΙΣ ὅτις ὁ Εὔταφος γένετ' αὐτῷ μῶχος — ὕλη Ν ὁ μῶχος ὅτις ὁ ΑΠΙΣ καλεῖται
 τὸς σημεῖον τοῦ αὐτοῦ. L. 3. c. 28.

The second reason I shall mention for fixing Ofiris so early is, that he is the Author or inventor of *Barley wine*, *Ale* or *Beer* in *Ægypt* as I have already prov'd; and that this was an inebriating liquor in the days of Moses, I have also made sufficiently clear from the writings of the old testament: so that he must have liv'd before the time of Moses: but (as I observ'd just now) the exact number of years is not to be found in any ancient history, and therefore I will not take upon me to determine it.

I have now said enough concerning that excellent liquor which the Ancients made of *Barley*. The reader may perhaps have thought me too prolix: and yet I can assure him, 'twas next to impossible to be more brief, considering the importance of the subject, and the variety of matter which presented itself in searching the records of Antiquity: I have purposely omitted a great number of quotations which I could have produc'd, to avoid the affectation of showing my reading. And I make no doubt, that when what I have offer'd is fairly consider'd, 'twill be easily seen, that it cou'd not, with any tolerable justice to my design, have been contracted into a narrower compass. I have examin'd most of the names of this liquor amongst the ancients, and given the Etymologies of them. I have also shown, as well as I could, in what manner it was made, and I have besides inquir'd into the time of it's being invented, and prov'd who was the inventor of it --- However if, in treating upon so many useful particulars, I have been too tedious, I have only to ask pardon, and to promise that I will never give myself any further trouble about *Ale* or *Beer*, unless for my own drinking.



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